UNITY

FREEDOM, FELLOWSHIP AND CHARACTER IN RELIGION

New York City's Municipal Election of 1937 - - - *Frederick L. Guggenheimer*

Emanuel Swedenborg (1688-1938) - - - - - - - - *John Haynes Holmes*

Youth in This Dark and Angry World - - - - - - - - *Norma E. Piazza*

The Study Table

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The Field

"The world is my country, to do good is my Religion."

Poetry Contest

Are there American poets today who can kindle us in a cause?

To find out, *The Forum* has organized a prize competition for the most compelling poems challenging the American people to be alert to their liberties.

A total of $1,000 will be awarded in prizes.

The Editors hope that many leading American poets will be moved to enter the competition. They are aware, however, that stirring verse may come from undergraduates in college or from boys and girls in high school. The competition has therefore been divided into groups, with prizes for each, as follows:

A—General Public.
1st Prize $300.
2nd Prize $150.
3rd Prize $50.

B—College Undergraduates.
1st Prize $150.
2nd Prize $100.
3rd Prize $50.

C—Secondary-School Students.
1st Prize $100.
2nd Prize $60.
3rd Prize $40.

Writers' Conference Fellowship

The Olivet Writers' Conference, of Olivet College, Michigan, offers a fellowship for 1939, covering all costs of the Conference, to the prize-winning contestant who, in the opinion of the Conference admissions committee, seems most likely to benefit by attendance at the Conference.

Consolation Prizes

A copy of *The Complete Rhyming Dictionary,* edited by Clement Wood, will be awarded to each of the 50 contestants who seem most likely to profit by it.

Judges—Padraic Colum, William Allan Neilson, and Carl Van Doren.

Instructions: No poem is to exceed 40 lines in length. Manuscripts must be addressed to the Poetry Contest Editor, "The Forum," 570 Lexington Avenue, New York City, and must be mailed before midnight of June 30, 1938. Under no circumstances will any manuscript be returned or its receipt acknowledged. Manuscripts must be clearly marked with the name and address of the contestant and with the group letter (A, B, or C) of the class in which the poem is being entered. Contestants in class B or C must state name of college or school attended. In order to qualify for a prize, the contestant must accompany his submission with a remittance of 25 cents in stamps.

—*The Forum.*

(*Continued on page* 32)

UNITY

"He Hath Made of One All Nations of Men"

Volume CXXI MONDAY, MARCH 21, 1938 No. 2

GOODNESS AND LOVE

Goodness and love mould the form into their own image, and cause the joy and beauty of love to shine forth from every part of the face.

When this form of love is seen it appears ineffably beautiful, and affects with delight the inmost life of the soul.

—*Emanuel Swedenborg.*

TIME—TIME!

Nothing so completely explains the policy of the English Premier, Chamberlain, as the desire at almost any price to gain time. Time is a solvent of many problems, as it is a cure of all woes. Why should it not be trusted to solve this European problem of war and peace? Few problems have to be solved upon the instant—why not leave them to solve themeslves in course of time? In the case of Britain, it is assumed that the government is playing for time, in order to allow for the building of armaments of such size and power as will once again enable the Empire to dominate the world. But such assumption is superficial, since the time has passed when any nation can hope to rule sea or land again. Furthermore, there remains the stern realistic fact that all the great states are today arming themselves as rapidly and terribly as possible, and thus making time a negligible element except as all are affected together. No, Chamberlain is basing his policy on other and surer considerations. What he sees is that time is working against Italy and Germany in the sense that they are inwardly weak. These countries have no resources upon which they can indefinitely feed. Their very exertion to arm themselves is itself exhausting. Their intense aggression is a measure of their instability. Sooner or later, something has got to happen! It may be war, in which case it must be met, and can be met as effectively tomorrow as today. But it may be—collapse! The Fascist powers, if given time, may simply overplay their hands, strain themselves to the breaking point, blow up. Also, if given time, all sorts of things may happen. A dictator may drop dead, an assassin may run wild, an army corps may revolt—who knows? So—play for time! Anything to keep things going, anything to avoid a war in the possibility that what is not fought today may not have to be fought tomorrow! This may not be the most heroic attitude in the world, but it is wise. The British lion may yet save us all not by his claws and fangs but by his cool head. At any rate, there is a pacifist maxim about "peace at any price," and this present price, as named by Chamberlain, seems not too heavy.

ISN'T THIS TERRIBLE!!

There are Japanese war vessels off the Pacific coast! Have you heard about it? They don't look like war vessels, these boats that are alleged to be busy near our western shores. O, no!—they are fishing-vessels, or pretend to be. Congressman Maas, of Minnesota, is the eagle-eyed patriot who has discovered the awful situation. Among "hundreds" of alleged Japanese fishing-vessels operating off the West Coast, he says, "a very substantial number" are high-speed, Diesel-engined boats capable of conversion into efficient torpedo boats. (Doesn't it make your blood grow cold?) "Many of these vessels," continues the Congressman, "are manned by Japanese officers." (Gosh!) "If, as the evidence indicates, these ships can be swiftly converted into twin-tube torpedo craft, our whole fleet might be sunk at its anchorage in the event of hostilities." (My! My!!) The Congressman is pressing for an immediate investigation. We hope he gets it, for these doings of the Japanese are simply incredible. They are acting just like the Germans twenty-odd years ago, who laid cement tennis courts all over our eastern coast as emplacements for "Big Berthas," planted secret ammunition stores in the cellars of churches and warehouses, and had so many camouflaged warships in the Atlantic that commerce might have been stopped or sunk at any time by the Kaiser's command. It certainly is terrible the way we are beset by our enemies, when we are absolutely defenseless and are doing nothing to disturb anybody. But this is the way wars start, and thus a sure sign of a next war on the way! From now on, watch for stories of this kind. Propaganda is loose among us, spies are in every corner and under every bed, plans for the conquest of this republic are on the tables of the war-chancelleries of a dozen nations, war vessels in disguise are haunting our shores, regiments of foreign soldiers are already landed and are working as

stevedores in our ports. Isn't it terrible? It *is*—that anybody should believe such silly yarns, and Congressmen flaunt them to the public gaze, and newspapers publish them on the front pages. But—we repeat!—this is the way wars come.

SPIES!

Hardly had the ridiculous tale of the Japanese fishing-boats faded away when the front pages began screaming the sensational story of the arrest of spies in New York by our heroic G-men. Spying, of course, is a routine practice of all governments these days. The United States has secret agents in many countries, as these countries in turn have secret agents here. Our G-men are watching out for spies all the time, and in all probability are arresting spies as regularly as they arrest counterfeiters, forgers, and what not. If they are not doing this, then they are strangely remiss and the country in peril indeed. Now, all of a sudden, just as though the arrest of spies were an unheard of thing boding immediate disaster to the nation, we get this internationalized Nick Carter yarn of G-men pouncing down upon a nest of conspirators engaged in selling priceless secrets to foreign powers. Oppenheim is surpassed in excitement and thrill. Right here in real life, and *at the very moment when the great armament bill is facing vigorous pacifist opposition in Congress,* the imagination of the wildest fictionist among us is outdone. Could anything be more significant, or more easy to understand? What we see is the next chapter in the war-scare, that's all! Propaganda is loose among us like the plague. The government is right on the job, feeding out news with a maximum of sensational effectiveness—tying up the ever-popular J. Edgar Hoover with a breath-taking spy story—manufacturing events and occasions—all to the end of scaring the people sick over the war danger, and thus preparing them to fight. Only, thus far, the people don't "scare!" Story after story "breaks," and the masses remain unperturbed. Obviously, if anything really effective is to be done, some "smasher" must soon appear. We expect, therefore, at any time to hear that the Nazis are planning to kidnap the President, or that the Japanese are plotting to smuggle across the borders a huge consignment of Japanese beetles.

IS IT MADNESS—OR WICKEDNESS?

Is there any non-partisan soul left in all the world who can believe the grotesque fantasies of Russian history these days? This latest trial of Rykoff, Bukharin, Yagoda, Rakovsky and their associates, heroes for years of the Revolution,—is it not crazier than any Walt Disney cartoon? Though we may have accepted, in sheer faith, the sincerity of the earlier trials and the validity of the confessions presented, can we accept this latest phantasmagoria as having any place in a world of reality? "The indictments," writes Walter Duranty in the *Times,* "are terrific." No more terrific, we should say, than the death of the wicked witch in *Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs* and a million times more unreal and thus ridiculous! These men, we are told, murdered Gorky! In God's name, or rather in Marx's, what did they have against the simple Gorky? And what has the death of a thousand Gorky's to do with the overthrow of Stalin and the triumph of the Trotsky Bloc? But this is not all—not by a Red Square full! These men in 1918, we are told, "organized a plot against Lenin. They aimed at breaking the Brest-Litovsk Treaty, upsetting the Soviet Government, arresting and killing Lenin, Stalin and Sverdloff, and forming a new government." Fit that indictment into Russian history if you can—1918, when the Soviets were battling desperately for existence, when Brest-Litvosk was Lenin's treaty, when Stalin was almost unknown and of no account at all! What unmitigated and damnable rot!! Like all other madmen and criminals, the leaders of the present Stalin regime have o'erleaped themselves and now have fallen. It is just imaginably possible that the testimony in earlier trials could be believed, but not this, especially after Kresinsky's declaration of his innocence. Which leaves only the question—are Stalin and his underlings sheer lunatics, or are they devils of such blackness as history has not known since the Dark Ages? That's a riddle fascinating to discuss, but not touching the main issue which is the collapse of the Russian Revolution into a personal despotism more terrible than the Swastika.

STORM BREWING IN INDIA

It has never seemed to UNITY that the new Constitution inaugurated in India last year could be successful. After all, there is no halfway between subjection to an alien empire and national independence! Yet the National Congress Party was wise in acting under the Constitution, and rewarded by winning seven provincial governments in the initial elections. But now the inevitable trouble has come. Two of the seven cabinets controlled by the Congress Party have recently resigned—in Bihar and United Provinces. The issue was decisive—namely, the refusal of British provincial governors to sanction the release of forty-three political prisoners as ordered by the Nationalist authorities. Under the new Constitution, the Indians had been promised that only in real emergencies would the action of national governing bodies be vetoed by British authorities. That there should be any veto power at all lodged in alien executives is of course outrageous, but its exercise might well be tempered by such discretion as to be at least tolerable. But in this case it is intolerable. There can be no emergency in this proposed release of political prisoners. The Viceroy, Lord Linlithgow has not claimed that there is an emergency. He simply feared disorders,

and thus instructed the provincial governors to nullify the order of the local cabinets. What the Indians now declare is that this action proves the complete unimportance of the native governments and the farcical character of the new Constitution which was supposed to guarantee home rule to India. It would seem as though the Viceroy had welcomed this opportunity to teach the people that it is Britain that rules them still. The resignation of the two cabinets, paralyzing local administration, has caused an immense sensation. There are reports that Gandhi, whose health is much improved, is contemplating a return to political life, which would almost certainly mean his leadership in another non-cooperation campaign. It is just as well perhaps that the issue has been joined. It had to come sooner or later.

THE FASCIST BEFORE FASCISM

GABRIELE d'ANNUNZIO was the pre-Fascist Fascist. Before Mussolini was, this frenzied poet and amorist was. If one would know the sheer fanaticism of the Fascist movement, its wild romanticism and utter instability, one need only read the sensational works of d'Annunzio and behold the aspect of his life. It was only when this mad spirit became curiously and disastrously wed with the brutalism of Mussolini that it came to something. Of itself it could have done nothing, as d'Annunzio never did anything but pose and gesture and pretend. But armed suddenly with the bravado and beastliness of the brigand, this Fascism became a thing of turbulence and terror. Mussolini saw this clearly enough—that d'Annunzio was the inner soul of Fascism unmasked, and therefore not to be shown for its very weakness and shame. So he hid the hysterical poet away, submerged him with honors, silenced him with loud laudations, and now that the poet is dead, lifts him into the empyrean of immortality. The burial pageant was a superb drama which d'Annunzio would have enjoyed even as one of his own plays. But at bottom it was like an old Roman triumph —the central figure a captive held in chains for the greater glory of the conqueror. D'Annunzio's literary achievements were of a piece with his personal exploits and spirit. He was a true poet—no doubt about that—indeed, a great poet, but of the decadent Oscar Wilde type. His dramas were thrillers of the Sardou school of melodrama, but drenched in an exotic poetry which was as luxuriant in color and as stupefying in fragrance as the poisonous plants of tropic jungles. In these plays was a certain inhumanity, a phase of sadism, which was fascinating in a horrible sort of way, but at bottom abhorrent. It will be interesting to see whether it is the man or the writer who will be longest remembered in the annals of Italy. Certain of d'Annunzio's poems will undoubtedly survive. So will the story of his hysterical awakening of Italy to the glory of war in 1915, and the fierce fury of his Fiume gesture in 1919. There will linger also the tale of his romance with Duse, the immortal actress. "He was Petronius, Rienzi, Casanova, Garibaldi, Byron, and a good bit of Barnum," says the New York *Times*. This verdict is just.

Jottings

When Chinese planes bombed certain Japanese cities in Formosa, it was reported in the newspapers that Tokyo was "greatly shocked." This reminds of the "Killer" awaiting his execution in Sing Sing who was greatly shocked when a fellow prisoner killed a mouse.

These world fairs and suchlike things are getting embarrassing. England is planning to withdraw from the 1940 Olympics at Tokyo. Fierce opposition is developing in New York against German and Japanese exhibits at the 1939 Fair. Perhaps it might be well to postpone international events until we have some internationalism.

The interior of a home should match the hostess who presides over it, say the interior decorators. This would seem to mean that a man must redecorate his home every time he takes a new wife. Well, perhaps this will help to keep the divorce rate down.

Autopsies in fatal automobile accidents show that more than 50 per cent of the bodies examined disclose alcoholic content. It's wonderful, isn't it, how Repeal has solved our liquor problem. Imagine the outcry if Prohibition had shown anything like the above record!

The grand project of super highways built straight across the continent from the Atlantic to the Pacific has gone the way of the grand project of the two belts of trees across the nation from Canada to the Gulf. Add Passamaquoddy, the Florida ship canal—and what an Arabian Nights Entertainment (or nightmare) this New Deal has been!

The French marriage laws have been changed. French wives are no longer required to "obey" their husbands. We wonder if they ever did!

J. H. H.

New York City's Municipal Election of 1937

FREDERICK L. GUGGENHEIMER*

An historic event occurred in the city of New York on November 2, 1937. On that date, for the first time in the history of the city, a non-partisan Mayor was elected to succeed himself, and with him practically a complete non-partisan slate. Thomas E. Dewey, the premier racket-buster of all times, reversed by an enormous majority the normal Democratic clinch-hold upon New York County, and was elected its District Attorney. A City Council of 27 members was elected, which supplants, under the new charter, the old and completely discredited Tammany controlled Board of Aldermen. This Council consists of a non-partisan president elected by city-wide vote, and 26 Councilmen (15 Democrats and 11 Independents) elected by proportional representation. Of the Democrats, 12 represent the regular party machine, one ran as an Independent, and two are allied with the faction within the party opposed to the party leaders.

Since November 2 the question has been repeatedly addressed to me, as the head of one of the civic organizations in New York, as to the meaning of this election. From many of the large cities of the country, intelligent and civic-minded men and women have asked me whether they could hope that a new tide had turned in civic affairs, whether what had happened in New York could be repeated elsewhere, and, if so, how?—or whether the result of the 1937 municipal election in New York was just another one of those waves of reform with which American cities have become so tragically familiar, to their shame in the past, to be followed by indifference and reaction. These inquiries must be answered, and to answer them adequately a brief resume of events in New York City during the last ten or fifteen years must be made. But at the outset, let me say that my answer, as that of one who has tried to study these events objectively, is enthusiastically optimistic. It is my carefully considered judgment that New York has issued an unchallengeable call to arms to those great cities of America, which are still controlled by selfish partisan machines, to shake themselves free, as New York has done, to acquire for themselves the opportunity and right permanently to enjoy the fruits of honest, non-partisan city government.

Why am I so optimistic? I shall probably be reminded at the outset, by those who do not share this optimism, of a few discouraging events which occurred during the first La Guardia term. In the first place, the victory in 1933 was not the smashing blow at Tammany domination which was claimed for it at the time. It is true that a careful survey of the results of that election discloses that, in the three-cornered fight which occurred, La Guardia did not receive a majority of the votes cast, and that, out of a total of 94 offices voted on, omitting the higher judicial positions, Fusion captured only 25 posts, the Democratic machine winning 69, and that in the Aldermanic contest alone the machine elected 49 as against 16 for Fusion. Tammany swept into office almost every borough and county candidate, including the President of the Borough of Manhattan and the District Attorney of New York County.

I will be further reminded that within a year after the Fusion government went into office, at its first test of strength with the powerful machine, after the unfortunate death of Comptroller Cunningham, the Tammany candidate defeated Dr. McGoldrick, who had been appointed Comptroller by the Mayor following Mr. Cunningham's death. And again, after the further loss of Bernard S. Deutsch as President of the Board of Aldermen, Tammany was again successful in electing its candidate; and that in the bi-election for Aldermen, the Fusion representation was reduced to three, and Tammany controlled all the rest.

These are significant facts, and I am not unmindful of them. Yet I submit that a careful analysis of these events, and of other events both within and without the strictly political field, discloses that these victories were but incidental in the death struggle which machine politics was waging against the slowly awakening giant of public opinion and to the real struggle which finally achieved in 1936 the unexpected adoption of a new charter and of proportional representation—leading up to the smashing and conclusive victory of November 2, 1937. It becomes necessary to view the picture as a whole in order to understand why I am optimistic and why I maintain that the New York City victory of 1937 is an important victory and one which should be accepted by the other cities of the nation as a challenge to similar effort upon their part.

In reaching this conclusion, there is only one qualification which I find it necessary to make. This victory is final only if I am correct in the assumption that the forces which brought it about have succeeded in permanently awakening and arousing a long-suffering electorate to the realization of its needs and its rights. Its results can be perpetuated only if those forces that brought about this victory, which have been powerfully organized to fight an entrenched machine and have conquered it, can be persuaded to continue their fight and not to permit the inertia, which in the past has followed success, to diminish their watchfulness or their energy.

It is as the head of a civic organization which played a large part in the processes which brought about the results of November 2, 1937, that I solemnly acclaim the result and warn of the dangers involved. What, then, was it that brought about in the first place the seemingly inconclusive victory of 1933 and again resulted, in spite of the drawbacks and obstacles that intervened, in the final smashing victories of 1936 and 1937? Nothing other than an aroused, militant, informed public opinion! And what was it that informed, aroused, and kept aroused the interest of the citizens of New York to the end that they reversed history and for the first time continued for a second term a non-partisan administration, thus humbling the powerful machine in the dust—a machine which had counted above all things, upon its return in 1937 if it was to survive? And why do I claim that this victory can be made permanent if we *will* it? I rely, of course, upon the gradual evolutionary development of strong,

*Mr. Guggenheimer is Executive Director of the City Affairs Committee of New York.—EDITOR.

determined civic groups such as the City Affairs Committee itself, the development of which has a comparatively recent origin. I assert, and a careful survey of the past will support this assertion, that it is the development of just such organizations which differentiates the victories of 1933, 1936 and 1937 from the Seth Low and John Purroy Mitchel elections of earlier years.

Those earlier elections were the result of a spontaneous and spasmodic burst of indignation against corruption in city government as a result of sensational disclosures which, because of no strong, militant, propelling forces, was permitted to simmer and die out after the immediate cause was corrected. Thus, the strong political machine unopposed by an organized force was insidiously permitted to rehabilitate itself and return to power after the indignant public had been allowed to forget. There lies the difference!

For generations, the cities of America had indulged in that tragic merry-go-round: *corruption*—indifference, surprise, indignation, *reform*—complacency, forgetfulness, indifference, *corruption,* in apparently unending cycles. To many, the hope of a few idealistic fanatics, that corruption in city government might some day be permanently wiped out and honest, business-like government established on a permanent basis, seemed a Utopian dream. It was opposed to all previous experience. "It can't be done," said Mr. Average Citizen. "How can unorganized public opinion operate against the highly organized political machine?" In that sentence lay the tragedy of past civic reform. But in that sentence, as I have indicated above, lay its answer and its hope.

Let us take, for example, the city of Cincinnati which to its glory has served as the inspiration to many of us in New York. In that city, more than twelve years ago, out of discussions in a men's club in one of the city churches came a movement which resulted in the elimination of political control and in the establishment of efficient city government so that, for twelve years, Cincinnati has been the pattern for all progressive citizen groups fighting for the permanent establishment of honesty and efficiency in city administration. For more than twelve years, it has had a model modern government under a model modern charter; and throughout the entire period of the depression, when other great cities were experiencing payless paydays or facing the prospect of actual bankruptcy, Cincinnati alone of the larger cities of the country (and New York was no exception) was never once in the red and was consistently going forward, developing its schools, its hospitals, its sanitation, its parks and playgrounds, its paving, and street cleaning, and always under a moderate tax rate and with a surplus in its city treasury.

How did this miracle develop and how has it been continued? It developed out of a small group of men who in a spirit of ethical enthusiasm and civic consciousness went forward proudly to organize a public opinion strong enough to pit itself against the old gang which constituted organized politics. Organized public opinion won and has continued to win in election after election. And *all* because the citizens of Cincinnati cared enough and have continued to care and to fight!

With its example as an inspiration, a similar process of organizing public opinion has been going on in New York, and what was done in Cincinnati has finally been accomplished here. This is a new process, but with Cincinnati as its inspiration and with New York, because of its size and the inherent difficulties involved, as its smashing climax, the fight will go on. And what has been the underlying principle upon which this process of public education has been based? A very simple thought and a very elementary principle, to-wit, the absurdity of political factions in the consideration of municipal problems. The party system of government had for years been taken for granted. Every citizen who voted at all for municipal officials had thoughtlessly tagged himself at the beginning of his career as a citizen, as a democrat, republican, polliwog or what not, had indifferently voted that ticket regularly and, of course, unthinkingly and unintelligently (when he voted at all!). Through the efforts of such groups as the militant men's club in the Cincinnati church, through civic organizations such as the City Affairs Committee in New York, and through persistent emphasis and reiteration, men and women have come to see that party tags have no meaning in municipal government. The independent citizen has come to understand that the modern city is a great business and that the same principles must be applied to its administration as are applied to the great business corporations of the country. Citizens are coming to realize that there are dividends to be earned in the administration of their city as in the administration of any other business of which they may happen to be stockholders: dividends of health, comfort, and education, realized through good hospitals and health clinics, safe and clean streets, good schools and modern educational methods, happy, healthful and stimulating surroundings and opportunities. They have come to realize that these dividends are something to be striven for and are more real and permanent in value than the transitory dividends of an annual picnic or a bag of coal in winter which the district leader had previously handed out as the sole city dividend paid to the loyal voting citizen. They are coming to realize that permanent and more substantial achievements can be had only if honest and efficient government is in control. They are coming to see that political tags are not the proper tests for efficiency in city service and that these permanent dividends can be assured only if career men are at the head of their city government and its various highly specialized departments; an expert hospital consultant at the head of hospitals, a public health expert at the head of the health department, and sympathetic modern penologists in control of the police and of the correctional institutions of the city.

A thoughtful citizen might well ask, and indeed does ask, what would happen, for example, to the United States Steel Corporation or General Motors, or any other of the great business corporations of the country, if every four years its stockholders were to divide themselves into two groups, permit a few powerful men in each group to select a man from some unrelated business to become their candidate for general manager and then, after a ballyhoo campaign of some weeks, proceed to elect one of these two strangers as its executive head. Absurd as such a procedure would be, the analogy carries us to an even greater absurdity. After one of these two candidates is elected, utterly inexperienced as he is in the affairs of this great specialized corporation, he is installed, and promptly proceeds to displace every department head with men of his own selection as unfamiliar as he is with the affairs of the business and whose only claim to appointment to

direct these highly technical departments is the service they have rendered in corralling votes and electing candidates to office. Nor is this the end of this fantastic process. Throughout the entire organization, wholesale dismissals are in order and new appointments are made upon the same basis of eligibility—service to the political machine, not experience, honesty and efficiency which must be the test of all business organizations and should be the fundamental basis for appointment to all governmental bodies, especially in our cities. For every city is in reality a great business.

The city of New York has a budget of well over a half-billion dollars a year and the other great cities have proportionately large budgets. They have vast departments whose sole function in each case is intelligent, honest, efficient business administration, to the end that a dollar's worth of return shall be realized for every dollar of the citizens' money that is spent and that adequate dividends shall be assured in the form of health, happiness, and well-being to their tens-of-thousands of citizen stockholders. When the time for the election of the administrative heads of these vast organizations arrives, what are the considerations that should control? Experience, ability, and honesty are the sole attributes that should be sought. These are not to be found by applying the test of political affiliations or party alignments. In the first term of the La Guardia non-partisan administration in New York—and the results of that first term are more potent to illustrate the axiomatic principle of this statement than reams of words—every department head appointed by La Guardia was a career man, expert in his particular field. These men have given during these past four years that kind of business-like, intelligent administration—honest and efficient—that the city required and which the thoughtful citizen has come to recognize and acclaim.

So I say that what may to some seem to have been serious setbacks in our fight against partisan domination of city government during the first four years of Mr. La Guardia's administration were but spasmodic events in a progressive process. Taken, alone, however, they might have sufficed to have discouraged men and women who were not convinced of the merits of their fight and of the possibilities of success. But each setback girded them for renewed effort. The encouragement which they received when in 1936 the electorate of the city overwhelmingly approved a fine new charter and above all separately approved the selection of the City Council provided by the charter, by proportional representation, was a surprise to many, but most of all it amazed and dismayed the party politicians who had fought vigorously for their defeat. These victories could not have been achieved had it not been for the persistent educative processes developed and advanced by civic groups, supported by the admirable results of the first La Guardia term. The victory of 1937, which was no longer a three-sided contest but a clear-cut issue presented to the citizens, based upon the achievements of an honest, efficient, business-like government, as against the government expounded by Tammany Hall with its age-long doctrine of "to the victor belongs the spoils," was won by an aroused, thoughtful, intelligent citizenry. This election was not won by the intellectuals, by the highbrows, by the parlor liberals! It was won by the man in the street, informed, convinced, and converted through the object lessons of the well-governed city and the persistent effort and propaganda of civic organizations made up of men and women who without undue ballyhoo had carried on from year to year in an effort to bring understanding and determination to the average man and woman. Above all, it was won because these average citizens were made to see that those dividends, to which they are entitled as stockholders in the greatest city of their country, could best be achieved where non-partisan, honest, efficient administration prevailed and where the self-seeking politician was out of date.

On November 2, 1937, the impossible occurred, and a non-partisan administration was elected to succeed itself. The questions which have come to me as to the meaning of this election included the query as to whether New York's first experiment with proportional representation has been a success. In these inquiries, reference is made to the difficulties of the count, to the length of time consumed therein, and to the confusion which arose at the outset based upon allegations of fraud, incompetency of the voter, the length of the ballot, and the difficulties of the count.

An adequate answer to this question would require more space for discussion than could be utilized here. Again, my answer, however, is one of optimism. I am convinced that a careful and dispassionate consideration of this phase of the election would confirm my belief that the result was a complete victory, under all of the circumstances involved, for this experiment, new to the city of New York. The results speak for themselves when one realizes that in spite of the vigorous and persistent opposition of the political machines which still controlled a large majority of the election processes, thus preventing the use of voting machines which were urged by the non-partisan Mayor, and in spite of the use of paper ballots and of hundreds of partisan officials in the count, a council was finally elected of which nearly 50 per cent were independent members. It is true that the independent groups displayed lack of foresight in preparing for this important feature of the election in that there was no coördinated effort to confine the liberal vote to a selected few men and women of prominence but that a free-for-all scramble for votes was permitted to prevail. In spite of these facts, however, the independent vote is now represented by 11 to 14 councilmen whereas, under the old system, the Board of Aldermen was a strictly partisan body, almost 100 per cent of its membership nominated, elected, and dominated by the controlling political machine. From the lessons of this election it can be safely prophesied that by foresight and through the coöperation of the civic groups the next councilmanic election will definitely confirm the value of proportional representation.

The 1937 victory in New York represents a permanent achievement. If you men and women of the cities of America want good government in each of your cities, you can do in your city that which we have succeeded in doing here, that is, make the average citizen understand and care. What was done in Cincinnati more than twelve years ago gave heart to us here in New York and girded us for the fight. What was done in Cincinnati and here in New York need be only the beginning of a nation-wide purge so that the other great cities of the country may each bring about the elimination of the selfish political machine and the permanent establishment of honest, efficient, non-partisan city government.

Emanuel Swedenborg (1688-1938)

JOHN HAYNES HOLMES

Emanuel Swedenborg, born two centuries and a half ago this year, ranks as one of the supreme intellectual and spiritual geniuses of our modern age. Emerson well described him as "a colossal soul." But Swedenborg enjoys a fame quite disproportionate to his gigantic intellect and exalted spirit, and his immeasurable contribution to the thought and life of man. If he is remembered today at all, it is primarily as the founder of the Swedenborgian church and as the subject of an essay by Emerson in his *Representative Men.* I know of no obscurity comparable to this except that of Heraclitus in ancient Greece and of Auguste Comte in our recent nineteenth century. The parallel between Swedenborg and Comte is particularly striking, as both were scientists and theologians of amazing power, and both are remembered not primarly for their achievements but as leaders of small and unimportant religious cults. It may be interesting to ponder the reasons for so strange a fate befalling so tremendous a personality.

Emanuel Swedenborg was born in Stockholm, Sweden, on January 29, 1688, the second son of Jasper, Bishop of Skara, a pious and learned man, who believed that he enjoyed constant converse with angels and who, discovering the remarkable talents of his child, declared that "angels spoke through him." It is well to remember that angels in those days were believed to be as real as atoms and electrons are today—and for just about as good reason! Thus, one of the greatest scientists of the time, the astronomer Kepler, who discovered the laws of planetary motion, explained the motions of the planets through the skies by saying that each planet was ridden by an angel, as a horse by its rider, and was propelled by the beating of the angel's wings.

"As happens in great men," says Emerson, referring to Swedenborg, ". . . he seemed, by the variety and amount of his powers, to be a composition of several persons—like the giant fruits which are matured in gardens by the union of four or five single blossoms." This fact is shown by Swedenborg's interests as a boy, which were serious from the beginning, and the remarkable aspects of his education, which can only be compared to that of John Stuart Mill. After mastering in his childhood the ancient languages, including Hebrew, Swedenborg plunged into mathematics and the natural sciences, specializing in chemistry, physics, astronomy, optics, metallurgy, and engineering. In all these fields he acquired vast stores of knowledge. At twenty-two he completed his higher education at the University of Upsala; then toured Europe, visiting England, Holland, France, and Germany, and studied in the great universities in these countries; and in 1715 returned to Upsala, to devote his life to natural science and philosophy and the vast problems of engineering.

From this time on, Swedenborg's life may be divided into two periods, each roughly a generation long, from 1715 to 1744, and from 1744 to 1772. The first period may be described as the scientific, and the second as the religious or theological.

The first period really began in 1716, when Swedenborg was introduced to Charles XII, King of Sweden, great soldier, intrepid adventurer, who appointed the young man assessor in the Swedish college of mines. Two years later, in 1718, Swedenborg became famous all over Europe through the invention of a machine with which he hauled overland a distance of fourteen miles eight vessels of the royal navy for use at the siege of Fredericshall. In 1721 he visited Saxony, Bohemia, and Austria to examine mines and metal works. During these years, and in fact until 1744, he busied himself in the composition of a vast series of scientific works which are among the literary wonders of the age. These may be read only by experts; they are said to reveal, on the one hand an overpowering summary of the knowledge of his own time, and, on the other hand, a marvelous anticipation of the science of the nineteenth century. In this latter field of anticipation his genius was remarkable. Thus, Emerson tells us that he prophesied the discovery of the seventh planet; forecast the now famous views of the generation of the earth by the sun; developed in chemistry the atomic theory; took first steps in later remarkable experiments in the field of magnetism; and in anatomy was the first man to demonstrate the function of the lungs. Had Swedenborg died at this time, he would have been remembered with Newton and Leibnitz as among the most remarkable intellects of the age.

In 1744 there began that experience of "illumination" which marks the second period of Swedenborg's career. He now began to enjoy extraordinary visions, to hear mysterious voices, to be instructed by dreams, to converse with angels, to receive revelations direct from God, and was permitted to visit the realms of heaven and hell beyond the grave.

It is to be noted that this was a repetition on an elaborate scale of the religious experiences of his father. More important was this experience as a deliberate projection of the mind beyond the ranges of natural science and metaphysics, in which for years Swedenborg had undertaken to fathom the deep mysteries of the infinite and eternal. He found that science was failing to bring him to those distant realms of inner vision and understanding wherein alone he felt was to be found the secret of mystic being. Perhaps religion was right!—it is only through divine revelation that final truth can ever be known! And lo, suddenly, revelation came to him! In 1744, that is, the heavens were opened to his gaze. He described this event variously as "the opening of his spiritual sight," "his introduction into the spiritual world," "the manifestation of the Lord in person." More particularly, he declared that God had come to him, admitted him to the spiritual world, permitted him to visit heaven and hell, and to converse with angels and spirits; and that by direct communication the Lord had disclosed to him the doctrines of the new church which were the true revelations of the divine. His friend Robsahm records Swedenborg's own account of how God came to him, and said, "I am God the Lord, the Creator and Redeemer of the world. I have chosen thee to unfold the spiritual sense of the Holy Scripture. I will myself dictate to thee what thou shalt write." This is an episode strangely unreal in our prosaic and materialistic modern world, but impressively reminiscent of the "calls" which came to Isaiah and Jeremiah, Jesus and Paul, Francis and the saints. When we know so little of the human mind, can we be sure of what these things may mean?

Whatever it was, Swedenborg the scientific inquirer now gave way completely to Swedenborg the supernatural prophet. Thus, he abandoned all his scientific work. In 1747 he resigned his position as assessor at the college of mines, and devoted himself from now on to voluminous writings on theology, religion, ethics, and scriptural interpretation. His most amazing work is the *Arcana Coelestia*—eight enormous volumes, in which he reviewed the entire body of scripture, and gave the symbolical interpretation of all the contents, Old Testament and New, as these were revealed to him by the Most High himself. Another colossal work, of encyclopaedic proportions, is *The True Christian Religion*. A most fascinating book is his *Heaven and Hell*. A work of extraordinary beauty and lofty spirit is his *Conjugal Love*. On these vast studies, and in daily intercourse with angels, Swedenborg spent the remainder of his days, profoundly reverenced at home for his piety and zeal, and sought after abroad for the great marvels of his vision. He was never married. He was modest, gentle, fond of his neighbors and their children. His habits were simple—he lived on bread, milk, and vegetables, in a house situated in a large garden. Like Immanuel Kant, he was accustomed to go out walking regularly by the clock each afternoon, always carrying a large gold-headed cane. His intercourse with angels was sometimes in trances, in which he lay as though dead for days, but more frequently with all his faculties awake, and even in the company of friends. He died while on a visit to London on March 29, 1772, in his eighty-fifth year.

It is the tragedy of Swedenborg's life that the substantial achievements of his career have been forgotten, or neglected, in favor of speculation upon the metaphysical vagaries of his personal religious experience. His insistence in all his later years that he received revelations from God, and regularly visited the next world and conversed with angels, has exposed him to devastating charges of mental instability, which have woefully affected his reputation except among those who have caught the beauties of his spiritual teaching and become his followers in the church. Especially has this insistence shifted attention from what is really central in Swedenborg's life to that fascinating but purely incidental question as to what really happened to him in the last three decades of his career. It is inevitable perhaps that we should look at this problem for a moment, and seek out some of the causes which may have been involved.

As I study the problem, it would seem to me that there are four possible explanations of Swedenborg's alleged experiences:

First, there is the supposition that his experiences were genuine—that he actually saw what he says he saw. The obstacle in the way of this explanation lies in the fact that it does not fit in with our modern understanding of the universe. We do not believe in angels today, nor in heaven and hell as the abodes of spirits. Furthermore, psychology, a new science since Swedenborg's day, has learned to explain phenomena of this kind as vagaries within rather than as realities without. Yet psychology itself is taking us into strange fields these days, as witness the present explorations of extra-sensory perception, clairvoyance, and telepathy. At present we can hardly believe Swedenborg's accounts in any literal sense, but this by no means solves the riddle.

A second explanation of what happened is that Swedenborg was a fake and a fraud—that he was only pretending to see what he reported, and, like any other quack, using his alleged miracles to his own personal advantage. The obstacle in the way of this explanation lies in the simplicity, the sincerity, the whole character of the man. There is no evidence throughout Swedenborg's entire career of anything but the most transparent honesty. Furthermore, it is to be carefully noted that Swedenborg gained nothing from his reports, but on the contrary suffered much.

A third possible explanation is that Swedenborg was insane—or at least the victim of hopeless fanaticism and hallucination. Emerson seems to incline to this opinion when he speaks of Swedenborg's "deranged balance." The obstacle in the way of this theory is that Swedenborg showed none of the aspects of lunacy throughout his entire life, but on the contrary was invariably sane and sober, utterly rational, and uniformly intelligent. Where, after all, do sanity and insanity begin? What are we to say when we compare Swedenborg's experiences with St. Paul's, and find in him a parallel to Mohammed, Plotinus, William Blake, and other geniuses, all recorded as extraordinary but in no sense insane. There are depths in human nature not yet plumbed, mysteries not yet revealed—which bring me to my fourth explanation of the situation!

This explanation is based fundamentally on Swedenborg's resemblance to Dante—the one man who, alone with Swedenborg himself, claimed to have visited heaven and hell. Did these two men really go to these regions? Dante said he did, and so convincingly that, as he walked the streets of Italy, men and women drew back from him and pointed to him with awe as the man who had visited hell. But Dante was a poet, and we know that his visit was to the realms of his poetic imagination, which, through the genius of his poetic gift, were made as though real to himself and to others. But Swedenborg was not a poet; he was a scientist. However, he had done strange things with his science. He had pressed it so far in his quest of final realities that he had no language to express his thought, and resorted at last to the famous device of symbolization, by which everything—a cell in an organism, a star in the sky, a text in the Bible—was not so much itself as a symbol of something deeper and truer than itself. Swedenborg in due course came to use exclusively the language of symbols. When he came to the final mystery—the mystery of being—he found that he needed symbols which did not exist; and forthwith he proceeded to discover or rather invent them, as Dante in poetry, in the theological paraphernalia with which he had been reared as a boy, the extraordiary aspects of which had appeared in his father's life. His unconscious, that is, came to his rescue, and created in fantasies, so real inwardly that they seemed to be real outwardly, the material needed for the symbolical conveyance of his religious thought. We explain nothing of all this by calling it insanity. Why not some ebullition, or rather overflow, of inspired insight, which unconsciously transformed itself into this curious symbolism, now theological as it had formerly been scientific, which was from the beginning the strange language of Swedenborg's thought?

Such are the possible explanations of Swedenborg's experience. But I must insist that these things are not important. Imagine, if you will, that men had lavished

such curiosity on the case of St. Paul as they have lavished on the case of Swedenborg, for the former's experience was strikingly similar to that of the latter. Paul had his moment of "illumination" on the road to Damascus when he was stricken blind and unconscious by the sudden vision and voice of the risen Christ. All through his life thereafter he had "visions and revelations of the Lord." He records that he was once "caught up into the third heaven," and again "caught up into Paradise, and heard unspeakable words." Why do these stories not trouble us in the case of Paul as exactly similar stories so seriously trouble us in the case of Emanuel Swedenborg? There are various reasons: For example, Paul belongs to an ancient time with which we associate miracles and strange happenings, but Swedenborg belongs to modern times already possessed of scientific principles and standards. Again, Paul did not document his experiences, whereas Swedenborg documented them with a care which leads to skepticism just because of its elaboration of detail. Still again, Paul, while converted to Christianity, remained essentially the same personality after his experience that he had been before, whereas Swedenborg was made as it were into two personalities, the scientist who had disappeared and the seer who had now come.

But the important thing, I must insist, is not what happened, but what came as the result of what happened—or rather, the *man* who shines through all these strange occurrences. As we contemplate this man, through the long period of his fruitful life, there appear three things never to be forgotten.

First, Swedenborg was for thirty years a scientist of preëminent insight and inexhaustible energy. To the end of his unusually prolonged career he preserved unimpaired the consummate intelligence which made him the master of the learning of his age, and the prophet of the learning of a later time.

Secondly, Swedenborg in his personal life was simple, sincere, sober, serene, lovable, a man of absolute integrity and utter courage, and, in his old age, of sweet benignity and generosity. This "colossal soul," as Emerson called him, qualifies not only as a scientist but also as a saint. In all the world of science, I can think of no one to compare with him except the gentle and modest Darwin.

Lastly, in his religious period, Swedenborg became the interpreter of a Christianity of philosophical profundity and exalted spiritual purity. There was far too much theologizing in his thought—like Plato in his later Dialogues, Swedenborg was intricate, metaphysical, obscure, and terribly tedious, but, like Plato at his best, he was an exalted thinker in the realm of the spirit. Swedenborg was more like Paul than he was like Jesus in his presentation of religious truth—it was the theologian who was predominant, not the poet. But in his emphasis upon the moral will, his insistence on goodness as the test of salvation, his idealization of love, and his deep communion with God, Swedenborg proved himself a supreme religious genius.

Well may his followers revere their master, and ask mankind to join them in homage.

Youth in This Dark and Angry World*

NORMA E. PIAZZA

The problems confronting the youth of today are of such a nature that they demand the most painstaking efforts to preserve what human progress has attained so far. The duty of guarding and safeguarding all that is worthy and beautiful is our heritage. The beauty of the countryside, the green fields, the trees, the wild flowers, the rivers, the moors, the prairies, and the hills, the treasures from the ages of literature and art, the marvels of science, the integrity of the home, the love of the fireside, the right of free speech, the brotherhood of man. They are all ours. Nature and man's labor for centuries past both contributed to make this world what it is at present. We are its custodians now. We are entrusted to hold and enhance for future generations whatever is worth while for the benefit of mankind. Hold we must what enriches human intellect and extols nobler living. At the same time it is an obligation on our part to discard and obliterate every fad or custom tending to degrade the mission of man on this earth.

The incessant stride of the dictatorship form of government in foreign lands is dangerously and steadfastly making itself felt on our shores. Many subtle methods of propaganda are being applied in our midst with the evident purpose of poisoning the minds of the young generation of today with ideas utterly contrary to the principles of freedom, liberty, and equality, for which this country stands. The spirit of democracy is being denounced as a vain gesture. But it is the sacred duty of the youth of our land to show the world that there is nothing in democracy and its principles, its purposes and its methods, which naturally breeds timidity of outlook or mediocrity of achievement. Courage, discipline, and efficiency are as necessary to democracy as they are to dictatorship, and democracy implies and demands leadership as essentially as any dictatorship, for it is a leadership which has no force behind it; it is a leadership of faith and character, and democracy depends on the young men and young women of today for the leadership of the next generation, strong and disciplined to resist and defeat the assaults of a host of enemies banded together for its destruction.

The past two decades have witnessed a tremendous change in the political map of the nations of the earth. The devastating outcome of the World War sowed the seeds of disillusionment, revenge, and hatred among the people of Europe. The defeated nations nurtured the hope of rehabilitation even while under the severe hardships forced on them by the Treaty of Versailles. The so-called victors of the immane cataclysm were not spared the dire consequences of warfare. Thus their share of suffering was meted out to them in full measure. Millions of men returned from the horrors of the battlefields to their homes and families, or rather to what had been salvaged of their homes and families, to experience the economic crises that periodically afflict us all. These phalanges were met with privations and disheartenment instead of eagerly sought security and serenity. The ad-

*The author of this article is a young Brooklyn (N. Y.) girl, who prepared this statement for a Youth Service in a local church. It is a remarkable expression of youth consciousness in our time.—EDITOR.

vance of the machine age, whereby one person can do the work of several, and the cessation of the feverish activities of production to feed, arm, and maintain huge armies in the field, both were contributing obstacles to the solution of their problems of readjustment to normal livelihood. Their vision of a world made better and safer to live in was shattered by the crude realities awaiting them.

Is it any wonder, then, that discontent found roots very easily in the minds of many, and that a sense of revolt against existing evils grew within their hearts? The inevitable trend of excesses, fostered by hunger and duress, paved the way in the European countries for reactionary developments. Hence, the birth of dictatorship and its spread everywhere.

As the years have gone by and the sad memories of slaughter and World War iniquities have somewhat waned, a new generation is growing and being raised in true fashion to violate the fifth commandment: "THOU SHALT NOT KILL." We find babies hardly out of their cradles enrolled in the files of future warriors. The instruments of war and destruction are handed them at first in the shape of toys, and gradually as their tender bodies develop into adolescence, the art of killing human beings, with all its atrocities, is patiently and methodically taught them. While we are warned that murder in the heat of passion or in revenge for a personal affront is a serious crime, that human life is sacred and inviolable, that laws are made to punish the individual guilty of an offense against another person, at the same time, ironically enough, the "glory" of a soldier, marching forth with a rifle or a grenade in his hand to take the life of an innocent foe, is eulogized as a virtue. And still more we glorify the rôle of an aviator.

It is often said by those opposed to religious practices and teaching that "religion is the opiate of the people," that it is used to deaden any protest against injustice and inequality. It seems to me that the teaching of religion, particularly the true Christian religion, which places a value on the individual and proclaims human personality to be supreme is a far better virtue than teaching idolatry of war-gods who compromise the infinite value of the human body to savagery. It is opium to the people—the act of diverting their thoughts from the solution of their economic difficulties by the glamour of resplendent uniforms, blaring bands, and the stupefaction of the finer sentiments of the human soul.

Today the world is an armed camp. The momentum of the armament race in every nation is increasing feverishly. Some of the nations are doing it with the fixed idea of aggrandizement and domination. Others are compelled to do it for reasons of preparedness and self-defense. All, however, are treading the same path which eventually and fatally leads to perdition.

During these interludes, an artificial economic betterment is fostered by the manufacturing activities for war material and equipment. But such a doped illusion cannot last long. The tragic rendezvous, where the toll is paid in terms of blood, death, and infinite misery, is in the offing. Let us at once apply the lessons learned from the experiences of the past. There are many ways for universal betterment. Just now our heritage is at stake and we must not be delinquent in our duty.

The beauty of the countryside, the green fields, the trees, the wild flowers, we must preserve intact, in all its wholesomeness. We must not permit any ruthless attempt to mar the harmony of the skyline in the cities or turn the calm inspiring solitude of green fields into a graveyard. Every effort should be made to control the damming of rivers and thus protect the lives and property of those living near by.

The prairies and the hills must be preserved from the danger of erosion and drought. Why not invest to improve our land-needs the money and man power now spent for building means of destruction? The elimination of slums, such an acute problem, could be accomplished practically by substituting the metal used to make a rifle for a girder to hold a roof.

The treasures of art and literature so wantonly destroyed in times of strife should be held and conserved most jealously.

The marvels of science in all its diverse ramifications should be richly and wisely applied in creating happiness rather than wreaking terror. The discovery of radio-electric wave transmission should be utilized in any effort to bring help and succor to distress, but not used to guide an instrument of war, such as an airplane or battleship, in a mission of frightfulness.

How beneficent would be the findings in chemistry if used in enriching the fertilization of soil instead of in concocting formulas for explosives!

Could not engineers devote entirely the application of their knowledge to the construction of better homes, instead of battle cruisers?

The integrity of the home and the love of the fireside are and should be nearest the heart of every peace-loving person. It is within that precinct that the lives of the future generations are molded, and the first impulses for good or bad instilled into their young imaginations. If the home is undermined by the lack of observance of the fundamental tenets of love and sacrifice, how can it be expected of the future heads of families that they become models of rectitude and dispensers of grace?

Why not forge ahead with visions of peace and the realization of dreams of contentment? The soil of the country is rich enough, and can be made still richer, to furnish food in abundance for every living creature on this planet. The ingenuity of man in delving into the secrets of the unknown is worthy of his efforts in the beneficial results to better our mode of living with improved devices and easier application of existing commodities.

Therefore, let us shake off the yoke of tyranny, and allow the fruits of the free spirit to grow and expand. Let us make the home happier and the fireside cozier. Let us consider every member of the village, county, city, state, and nation a member of our own family and treat them as such. Let us look beyond the artificial frontiers of our nation and join hands with the others in the common thought of the brotherhood of man. It is no fault of theirs that they were born in a faraway land with different laws and customs, just as we should not consider ourselves particularly privileged for being born in this blessed land of ours. We all are children of the same God. The right thing to do is to learn from the others what is worth while learning, and let others benefit from what we have accomplished.

In order to perform the part of a citizen wisely and well, it is essential to cultivate our minds, to rear to the most perfect vigor every generous and honest feeling that belongs to our nature; to bring the dispositions that are lovely in private life into the service and betterment of mankind.

Such is the goal towards which our aspirations must tend. Skeptics may call it visionary but how could youth trod its path without a vision guiding its way?

Study Table

The Real Saint

WILLIAM TYNDALE. *By J. F. Mozley. 304 pp., illustrated. New York: The Macmillan Company.* $4.00.

The years 1925 and 1926 stimulated a number of studies of Tyndale, and the canonization of Sir Thomas More, his great antagonist, occasioned others, but the present work, deriving its *raison d'être* from the fact that Tyndale was burned by the Inquisition at Vilvorde near Brussells, in 1536, is the culmination of all these studies and will probably remain authoritative—for Protestant and secular historians—for many years to come.

It is of exceeding exactitude, based upon meticulous and exhaustive research, yet it provides an interesting and even inspiring narrative of the greatest figure among English Reformers. Literary and philological students of translations of the Bible will find it very satisfactory, since Mozley devotes chapter five to the New Testament translation, chapter eight to the Old Testament version, and chapter twelve to the revised New Testament (1534-5) all of which are analyzed and appraised with masterly scholarship. Much of this is new, and, in addition, the author has inserted in the traditional account of Tyndale's wanderings and work the revelations of many documents recently unearthed (often by himself) from recondite archives in England and on the Continent. It would be valuable to give a list of these recently discovered records but space limitation forbids. In general, however, neither our general idea of the course of Tyndale's life, nor of his irreproachably devoted, modest, and charitable character is materially affected by the latest research.

Protestantism has long since canonized Tyndale in its own quiet fashion; but now that Rome, by a flourish of trumpets in St. Peter's, has sainted his bitterest critic and persecutor, Thomas More, Mozley's account of their controversies (chapter ten) is of peculiar interest to the religious Liberal. It shows More, the erstwhile Christian Humanist, warm friend of Erasmus, urged to the fray by the bigoted bishop of London, Tonstall, who *permits* More to read Tyndale's works in order to confute him! More then set to work for five or six years and produced more writings, in quantity, than during all the rest of his life,—all of them breathing a spirit of obscurantism and fanaticism, of *un*Christian *in*humanity. In the Dialogue of 1529 he suggests that the translation, printing, and distribution of the Scriptures be restricted to the bishops. He refuses to treat of the scandals of the church, but only of the errors of the heretics "damned and defamed already by their own obstinate malice." They should be "kept for the fire, first here and afterward in hell." (P. 217.) This burning is "lawful, necessary and well done." Even Wolsey shrank from such methods, Thomas Cromwell also! More vilifies, without proof, Tyndale's private character and uses the most vulgar, abusive epithets against him, apparently stung to fury by Tyndale's charges of venality and apostasy from earlier principles. That More felt his position weak and his conscience painful is amply proved by the lengthy, labored, querulous Confutation of 1532 and Apology of 1533. He shrieks hysterically: Enough of his friends and associates have not yet been burned —the bishops should be more vigilant and severe than heretofore against these "devil's stinking martyrs"! (P. 229.) He even goes to the absurdity of defending the authenticity of all relics (compare Erasmus' Colloquies and Encomium!) because it is inconceivable that God should suffer their falsity to mislead the faithful, and, besides, they are blessed by the church!

It was, of course, More's insistence upon the infallibility of the pope and the church—against Henry VIII—that got him sainted, for Rome has always rewarded fidelity to itself as a divine institution in despite of all ethical considerations. Logically, because the church is the body of Christ, his continuing incarnation, hence supremely sacred on earth. One can never find consistence in Rome's politics, ecclesiastical or mundane, without holding that point firmly in mind, and noting its application, whether to papal blessing upon the conquest of Ethiopia or politico-ecclesiastical fascism in the province of Quebec. But for an increasing majority of people today, this is nothing but ecclesiastical racketeering. For his infidelity to Humanity, Sir Thomas More remains for us a pathetic apostate from the noble Humanist ideals of his youth; William Tyndale, for his devotion to Truth, is the real Saint.

CHARLES LYTTLE

Industrial Versus Craft Unionism

C. I. O.—INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM IN ACTION. *By J. Raymond Walsh. 293 pp. New York: W. W. Norton & Company, Inc.* $2.50.

The unskilled and semi-skilled workers—the "forgotten men" in the mass-production industries—met bitter, unrelenting opposition in their efforts to organize and to improve their economic and social status in American society both from organized capital and "organized labor." In the camp of employers, "powerful forces" had for decades conspired against the full emergence of unionism. By means of private guards and police; spies, the blacklist, the yellow dog contract; ordinances against picketing, the injunction; control of the police departments, judiciary and, in numerous communities, of all economic, social, political and even religious institutions; vigilante committees, law and order leagues, newspaper propaganda, and company unions—the capitalist class contrived to keep the mass of unskilled and semi-skilled workers unorganized and inarticulate, and, wherever organized, to crush their unions or render them ineffective.

In the camp of organized labor—and this means the *American Federation of Labor,* for until November, 1935, it was the only labor body of importance since the demise of the *Knights of Labor*—there was little sympathy for the man without skill and for his efforts toward unionization. Organized when the machine had not yet made its drastic encroachments on the skill of craftsmen, the A. F. of L. concentrated its activities among the skilled and has so continued largely to this day. Craft unionism spelled high wages, hence high dues and a monopoly of labor; industrial unionism meant low wages, shifting labor, hence no labor bureaucracy. As Professor Walsh aptly states: "The A. F. of L. was essentially a business, not a social, organization. Gom-

pers did not want to build a labor movement; he wanted to win certain immediate gains in wages and hours for a limited and unimaginative group of workers —by standing on the backs of all the others."

Professor Walsh devotes a great deal of space to the recounting of the struggle between craft and industrial unionism in the camp of organized labor and to the organizations which were involved, outside the A. F. of L. Even within the A. F. of L. numerous attempts were made to change the ideology and structure of the organization. At the 1912 annual convention of the A. F. of L., the miners' delegates introduced a resolution "to revamp the Federation's structure along industrial lines" but were defeated 10,934 to 5,929. William Green himself was once among the active proponents of industrial unionism. In 1917, before he rose to power, he wrote:

> "The organization of men by industry rather than by crafts brings about a more perfect organization, closer coöperation, and tends to develop the highest forms of organization. The causes of jurisdictional disputes are considerably decreased, and in many industries can be eliminated altogether.
>
> "When men are organized by industries they can concentrate their economic power more advantageously than when organized into craft unions. By this process the interest of the unskilled worker is given as much attention as that of the skilled worker. It is indeed a policy of all for each and each for all.
>
> "The advantage of such form of organization is so obvious that one can scarcely conceive of any opposition thereto. In the development of industry and organization the tendency is toward concentration and perfection. Hence the reason why organized labor is gradually passing from craft organization to the more effective industrial forms of organization."

But, in power, Mr. Green has forgotten the advantages of industrial unionism and treats its advocates and organizers more autocratically than his predecessor in office, Samuel Gompers.

What have been the results of the anti-union policy of capital and of the craft union *tactics* of the A. F. of L.? The A. F. of L. never held its members: out of three who joined two dropped out. Its membership dropped progressively from 4,078,740 in 1920 to 2,126,796 in 1933. It took a non-union man, President Roosevelt, to halt the decline of organized labor. With the emergence of the N.R.A., especially its section 7-A, labor was stimulated into action. By the thousands, men and women flocked into unions: federal unions affiliated with the A. F. of L., independent, and communist unions. While labor stirred and was ready to take full advantage of the unprecedented opportunity, the A. F. of L. chieftains were stemming the tide of unionization by injecting jurisdictional disputes within the newly formed unions. There was a sound reason for that. While craft unions gained only 13 per cent, the industrial and semi-industrial unions of automobile, clothing, garment, mine workers, etc., gained 132 per cent. At the 1934 convention of the A. F. of L. the militant delegates forced the adoption of several resolutions calling for the organization of the workers in the steel and other industries, but as Professor Walsh sarcastically remarks: "What man had proposed, the Executive Council disposed." In 1935 no renewed organization drives were in evidence. On the contrary, charters were withheld from many federal trade unions who desired to amalgamate into industrial unions. Dozens of unions were dispersed into the constituent craft unions within the A. F. of L. At the 1935 convention the issue came to a head. The Resolutions Committee introduced two reports. The Majority Report reaffirmed the conservative stand of the A. F. of L., stressing that "the craft structure was adequate"; the Minority Report, signed by delegates who a week later formed the Committee for Industrial Organization, pronounced craft unionism as a crass failure, citing in proof the fact that after fifty-five years the A. F. of L. had organized only 3,500,000 out of the 39,000,000 organizable workers. Though the Minority Report was defeated by 18,024 to 10,933, the vote in itself was significant. It indicated that over a million members of the A. F. of L. favored industrial unionism. What followed is *history* and Professor Walsh's description of subsequent events is a masterpiece of reportorial journalism. Starting with 10 national unions claiming over a million members, the C.I.O. grew to 32 unions with nearly four million members by October, 1937. It launched spectacular organization drives in mass-production industries which were for decades the strongholds of anti-unionism. It employed the novel sit-down technique with amazing success. Out of 1,500 sit-down strikes reported in the press since 1935, only 25 were broken by police intervention. Politically, too, the C.I.O, became an important factor in the states of New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Michigan, Illinois, West Virginia, Kentucky, Indiana, and Wisconsin. It is committed to a platform of progressive reforms and if it cannot realize it through the major political parties it will not hesitate in shifting its allegiance to a new political party composed of all progressive elements of the old parties.

What is the future of the C.I.O.? While at the present moment it holds forth promises for success and permanency, its path may be impeded by two dangers which threaten to devour all progressive movements: *disunity of the labor movement*, and *Fascism*. Professor Walsh deplores the tendency among some leaders and rank-and-filers of the C.I.O. to ignore the A. F. of L. and warns that labor's difference must be composed if organized labor and democracy are to survive. There is room for the C.I.O. within the A. F. of L., and the opposition of the fanatics in both camps should be overcome and unity achieved by all means. While Professor Walsh is ready to concede that the conservative leaders of the A. F. of L. were responsible for the schism in the labor movement, he urges the leaders of the C.I.O. to repress their personal feelings and offer the olive branch in the interest of the labor movement at large. He says: "If the A. F. of L. will not stretch out a conciliatory hand, the C.I.O. must." In justice to the leaders of the C.I.O., after this book was published, they made a bid for unity. Committees of both organizations met in several conferences. Mr. Lewis met Mr. Green and held a long discussion. But no agreement was reached. Spokesmen of both organizations blame each other's uncompromising stand for the failure of the unity negotiations. David Dubinsky, one of the pillars of the C.I.O., joined in the denunciation of the C.I.O. committee for not accepting the terms of the A. F. of L. committee, which he thought were a partial victory for the C.I.O. Other C.I.O. leaders followed with declarations in similar vein. While the top leaders of both movements are unwilling to give way, among the rank and file there is unmistakably a rising clamor for unity. Will the C.I.O. rise to the occasion, make a bid for the resumption of peace negotiations, and by effecting unity save the labor movement and our democratic institutions from the menace of Fascism? Upon this outcome depends the failure or success of organized labor in the United States.

MICHAEL B. SCHELER.

Correspondence

What to Believe About Russia

Editor of UNITY:

The Editorial Note in UNITY, under date of February 7, 1938, speaks of the "ghastly dilemma" confronting the world on "What to Believe about Russia."

On the surface of things, it is rather confusing to the outside layman to read the biased pros and cons of the "ins" and the "outs," and difficult to grab the bull of truth by the horns and hold him "put." In fact, it is as conflicting an experience as, for example, to witness the thrilling, heartbreaking and breath-taking doings in a delivery-room of a maternity hospital where a new life is being ushered into this world but—where something goes wrong with the patient or with the doctor and nurses. . . And when a reputable American engineer of the eminence of Mr. John Littlepage actually appears in the pages of the most respectable *Saturday Evening Post* (issue of January 1st) offering evidence on the basis of a ten-year period of personal observation that the attendants in the Soviet delivery-room are facing actual sabotage endangering the life of the mother and the unborn babe—well all a distant observer can do is pray for the best and wait for results without falling into the depressingly uninviting arms of despondency; as the editorial writer reveals himself inviting his readers to join moods or fears. But there are signs that there is a silver lining even to this cloud; and there is no ground for despondency. What are the facts?

To begin with the happy truth is that the child is born and has arrived in our midst as a kicking and promising creature of remarkable possibilities. The mother is also alive; and both are thriving. . . The Soviet Union is still on the map, actually occupying one-sixth of the earth's surface, harboring multi-millioned and multi-national masses, lustily growing to manhood to the tune of 170,000,000 strong. The "ins" and "outs" may fiercely contend for authority; ideologies may clash; but the Nation goes on, raising a young generation in the tradition which must not permit the exploitation of man by man. That much even Hitler's geography-texts will have to admit.

The second vital truth is that, after a trying period of two full decades, a New Constitution was adopted, aiming, in the ripe future, to replace the dictatorship of the few with the democratically expressed will of the many, in the way of all democracies, through a Parliament. This code was actually discussed, voted upon, duly adopted, and ratified as the supreme law of the land. The future will show its ramifications.

The first chapter under the new Constitution is already a matter of record; for reference, if nothing else. On December 12, 1937, a year following the adoption of the new national code, elections were held for members of the Supreme Soviet, which is the highest legislative body under the law. The results are already fully known and officially recorded.

The 569 election districts of the country have elected 569 deputies to the Soviet of the Union; which is one of the two chambers of the Supreme Soviet, or Parliament, specifically designed to take care of the *common and universal interests* of the land, irrespective of nationality. Out of a total electorate of registered 94,138,159 citizens, 91,113,153 (96.8 per cent) went to the polls; and, of this latter total, 89,844,271 voted for the People's Front ticket headed by the Party. The voting resulted in the election to the Soviet of the Union of 461 (81 per cent) Party members and 108 non-Party members. City workers from the various fields of industry sent 247 deputies; agricultural workers sent 130 deputies; while the intelligentsia, administrative organs, and military units sent the remainder. Out of a total of 569, 77 are women delegates. Only 278 deputies can show secondary and higher education; but each and all can boast a record of devoted leadership for the common good in the respective fields of industry, agriculture, science, and culture. The most telling feature of the results of elections to the first chamber of the Supreme Soviet is that 386 deputies range in age from eighteen to forty; with only 183 being forty-one and over. Like the New Nation they were chosen to represent, the membership of the Soviet of the Union is young, dynamic, and pulsating with the very many interests that crowd their life.

Turning to the second chamber of their Parliament, first under the new Constitution, a similar effect is obtained.

Out of a total number of 574 specially designed election districts, 574 deputies were chosen to the Soviet of Nationalities; specifically designed to cater to the *special* material and cultural interests of the many nations comprising the Union. (Each national and racial group is actually encouraged to develop its own peculiar language and tradition.) This delegation represents 54 nationalities; chosen by general meetings and individuals of workers, farmers, intellectuals, and citizens in the military service of the land. The list includes Russians, Ukrainians, Belorussians, Bulgarians, Czechs, Letts, Tatars, Germans (9 deputies), Jews (15 deputies), Armenians, Kasakhs, and the many, many more nationals within the stretches of the great land. Urban and industrial workers sent 218 deputies to this second chamber of the Supreme Soviet; the agricultural workers sent 200 deputies; while 156 delegates represent the intelligentsia and their kin. Women delegates make a powerful group of 110. A significant total of 165 members of this second chamber are also non-Party representatives. Only 129 deputies of the Soviet of Nationalities have passed the age of forty (with only 7 over sixty!); while the great majority of the other 445 range in age from forty down, with 8 members barely touching the age of twenty. Like the Soviet of the Union, it is also an assembly of youth brimful with the zeal and activities of a life in the making.

Thus the first Parliament of New Russia enters the family of progressive nations, composed of the most talented men and women of its entire enormous length and breadth—not professional politicians or lawyers or servants of privileged groups, but locomotive engineers, combine operators, tractor drivers, chairmen, and managers of successful farms, cultural leaders, and executives in various organizations of public service—these are the first members of the first Federal Legislature of the first Socialist republic, barely twenty years old, and still at the start of its all-promising career. They have come together, to join forces with their leadership, in a common effort for the further enrichment of their individual and collective life.

A third fact to be duly recorded is the phenomenon that the Soviet Union, unlike imperialistic Russia of the Tsars, is a great force for peace in our disheartening age of wars and rumors of still beastlier wars to come. The very ideology of the New Russia upholds the sanctity of peaceful creative life and the reign of peace and friendly coöperation between men. The present leadership wants neither new lands, nor does it seek monopolies and markets for greater exploitation of labor. Its very theory and practice prove this; its spokesmen in the feeble League of Nations have revealed it; so there is neither mystery nor secret of its peace policy. And if the Old World does not see the modern pirates of Europe driving faster in their ruinous schemes of aggression, it is because of their *fear* for the democracies of France and England, ready to be aided by the legions of the Red Army, and thus make an end to piracy altogether, that universal carnage is thus postponed, if not entirely avoided.

Speaking before a distinguished Yale University audience, Dr. Thomas Mann, the great German author and Nobel Prize winner, thus states the truly "ghastly dilemma" confronting our age: ". . . the grave and good thing that is at stake in the world today is peace. It is the problem of peace that sets humanity its tasks today, and only in a state of peace can these tasks be accomplished. War has become a shameful and infantile futility, the exact antithesis of all creative effort." (See New York *Times;* issue dated Feb. 26, 1938.)

It is for the democracies of the world to guarantee that

(*Continued on page* 32)

John Haynes Holmes
Editor

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peace which promises freedom to the creative artist as well as to the family of mankind. The Soviet Union, in all its recorded declarations, begs to be included in that family of democracies who stand for the dignity of manhood and the sacredness of peace. That much must be conceded, to be set down in clear print by the future historian who need not fear the truth, for one petty reason or another.

Another good reason, based on material reality, why fear for the future and despondency are alien to the subject of the New Russia, is based on the fact that a thoroughly modern institution, in the form of a State Bank, aids the workings of the national economy there, by credit and finance, to a volume of 2,115,793,886,000 rubles in the single year of 1936; with an all-embracing estimated 1937 budget of the huge sum of 101,000,000,000 rubles! (Report of Chairman of Council of Peoples Commissars before the joint session of the Supreme Soviet, held in the Kremlin, January 15, 1938.)

In the smoke of the battle, with the Benedict Arnolds aplenty to contend with, it is really difficult to see the light. But the truth, like the glory of George Washington's final victory, must win.

An ancient Greek papyri reminds us that "*Jesus saith, A city built on the summit of a lofty mountain, and firmly established, cannot fall nor be hidden.*" With a little less "latent bias" it may even be discovered by a detached historian that the "ghastly dilemma" implicating the land of the Soviets is no dilemma at all,—no more a mystery than that contained by the ancient civilizations centering about the Nile Valley, the Euphrates, and the Aegean Sea, till the dark veil of ignorance and prejudice and superstition was removed by the studious efforts of the brave students. Like the Behistun rock and the Rosetta Stone, the actual mass accomplishments in what a New York *Times* reviewer has labelled "the first Marxist State in the world's history" point to the fact that 'way yonder, in the land of the ancient Tsars, there is a luring proficiency of an awakened Hercules and Atlas that bears close study and watching. *By their fruits ye shall know them.* What is being done by and for the 170,000,000 humans in the material and cultural enjoyment of an ever-expanding life is akin, in historical import, to what the daring Washington and Lafayette and Jefferson and Paine had done one hundred and sixty years ago here. The former are religiously crusading for the economic security and happiness of all; just as the latter, with the aid of their Minute Men, had dared to crusade for political equality and the free conscience of man. Of course, we cannot agree with means and ways which do violence to our democratic traditions and religious sentiments. But what rational person will maintain that recognizing a fact means the condoning of practices which do violence to one's conscience?

"Leaders come and go, but the people remain. Only the people is immortal. Everything else is transitory."

DAVID JOBMAN.

New York City

The Field

(*Continued from page* 18)

Charlie McCarthy and the Churches

In a very interesting article in *The Watchman-Examiner,* Dr. Bernard C. Clausen of Pittsburgh discusses one of the outstanding phenomena of our time, the vogue of Charlie McCarthy. He tells how twenty years ago a boy, on his way to school, in calling out a greeting to a classmate, discovered that he was a ventriloquist. He bought a book of instructions from a mail-order house, began helping to entertain at Christian Endeavor socials, and, when his father died, got a job playing the piano and putting on a turn with a dummy at children's matinees. A summer on the Chautauqua circuit gave him money to enter the School of Speech at Northwestern University, and enabled this boy, Edgar Bergen, to buy a new dummy, carved to order out of Michigan pine, and promptly named "Charlie McCarthy."

Modest and diffident, Bergen attracted attention only by the brash impertinence of his other self, but Charlie McCarthy got them both into the Delta Upsilon fraternity and then won jobs on the vaudeville circuit which led to several successful years in Europe. When the two returned in 1936, vaudeville was practically dead in America, and a promising career was balked. Income was nil, and hunger stalked. A chance afforded by an appearance on the Rudy Vallee radio program was the tide taken at the flood, which led to fortune, and this year it is said Bergen will earn $150,000, plus a great deal of extra money for movie skits. It might have been supposed that ventriloquism would be an absolute failure over the radio, where the unseen audience cannot see the lips and head and arms of the dummy move, as if the dummy were speaking. Over the radio, all this illusion is completely abandoned. Yet this ventriloquist act has become the most popular feature over radio today.

It might be asked, "What has all this to do with a religious journal?" The answer is that the name of "Charlie McCarthy" is now the "best-known cognomen in our contemporary culture," and people have traveled across the continent to Hollywood, intent on seeing the act produced. But, more than that, Charlie has become the chief threat to the continuance of Sunday night church services. Within recent weeks, we have personally heard this complaint from numerous pastors and church workers. For years it has been a difficult thing to attract an evening congregation. Henceforth, says Dr. Clausen, it will be at least twice as hard.

What does this signify? Dr. Clausen wonders whether we enjoy being fooled, and surmises that "perhaps our experience with politicians and preachers who speak somebody else's words while somebody else pulls the strings has made us cynically capable of amusement when the deception is frankly admitted." Or perhaps we like "the feeling of release which Charlie's pitiless impertinence gives to our subdued selves." "It is so with Bergen," says Dr. Clausen. "Even in college Charlie enabled him to say things that would otherwise have been repressed. The dummy's brilliant, dashing clothes, his strident, improper, ruthless, self-pitying, audacious comments allowed the gentle, unassertive Bergen to get some things out of his system by the psychological process called catharsis and then to relax into being a gentleman again when the act was over.

"But not so with the audience," adds Dr. Clausen. "Except in deep tragedy, there is no catharsis, but rather emulation. That is why gangster films make boys into real criminals." And he fears that unless Charlie McCarthy lets slip his hold upon our young life, there may be "a whole generation of flip, heartless, wise-cracking whiners developed out of the example he provides." But the moral threat, though real enough, is not the greatest peril. "The church has a right to fear Charlie McCarthy as a rival for the attention of the modern mind. He is a symbol of a world which is closing down upon the church. Charlie is a straw which shows which way the wind is blowing. Life is closing in on the church." If the hitherto rather sacred periods of Sunday morning, with its vast possibilities, are seized by some daring advertiser, especially when television is perfected and becomes cheap enough for the populace, there is "real peril that the impact of such competition might shatter the whole structure of organized church life" as we know it, and the habits of humanity might be transformed more completely than by the invention of the printed press in the days of the Reformation.

To meet this peril, concludes Dr. Clausen, we need no change in fundamental convictions, but only in method. All the magnificent new instruments of modern invention must be claimed and used by the church and must become "new trumpets for Christ." This is a task for the united church, and not for divided and divisive sects or individual congregations. "If we are wise in our day and generation, Charlie McCarthy and all he represents may yet set us free. This is no time for despair, but rather for rejoicing. The privilege and opportunity that is ours has never been equalled, and it is wonderful to be alive in such an age. Just to keep on doing the same things and repeat stubbornly, 'If people do not come to church or care to come, it is their fault and not ours'—this is only a counsel of despair. When the old tactics seem futile, we must be ready to cast our nets on the other side of the ship. If what we have to say in the church is important, surely we must make sure that it is said so that people will hear."

It is futile to sit down and bewail the perilous trends of our generation; the representatives of the greatest cause committed into the hands of men must meet every difficulty and overcome it.

—*The Messenger.*